

## By Authority.

## TENDERS FOR LOANS ON EXCHEQUER BILLS.

The undersigned hereby gives notice that sealed tenders will be received by him up to the first of January next ensuing, from all parties willing to make loans on Exchequer Bills for two years, the bills to be payable to bearer, and the interest to be paid every six months, and to be so provided for by four coupons to each bill.

Fifty Bills of Five Hundred Dollars each, One Hundred and twenty-five Bills of One Hundred Dollars each, and Two Hundred and Fifty Bills of Fifty dollars each, will be issued, so as to complete the sum (not to exceed Fifty Thousand Dollars).

Each tenderer is to state the rate of interest per annum which he demands, and the time when he intends to pay the money into the Treasury—to write at top of his letter, "Tender for Exchequer Bills"—to seal it, and address it to the undersigned.

The undersigned will not accept tenders where the rate of interest desired appears to him to be too high.

L. KAMEHAMEHA,  
Acting Minister of Finance.

## THE POLYNESIAN.

SATURDAY SEPTEMBER 13, 1856.

A copy of the address written many years ago by H. B. M.'s Consul General, in the form of a speech delivered at a meeting of the Chiefs by a gentleman then in great power, having come into our hands, we publish it to day. It is a document which must interest every one who has watched the course of events during the last ten or twelve years, and the expansion of public opinion and governmental policy during that time. Many of the suggestions have no longer any weight, because the objects they embraced have been attained. Other parts remind us, with a smile, of difficulties that have been fought out long ago, and we wonder when we see how small a cause brings paper warfare. The address will always be valuable in connection with the history of these islands, and we are glad to put it upon record as a kind of document of a passing scene in 1845. One fact cannot be lost sight of, that Gen. Miller then urged few things which have not since been virtually done or do not remain to this day in the public mind as objects to be effected. On some of the points upon which he makes the speaker offer congratulations our readers will entertain their own opinions.

When we first heard, some time ago now, that the Course of Events was *evanescent* of an opposition newspaper, we said to ourselves, Upon what alibi is it to live! Bess without flowers, a child without a nurse, an opposition press hard up for mistakes, mismanagement, complicity and corruption to expose, and oily-tongued, plausible sophists in the shape of ministers to scathe—do they not belong to the same category! Having, however, no sympathy with the large and weighty class of Infidels, being ourselves human enough to err, alas, how often! we did expect that once in a while, at all events, some measure of the government, judged of after the event—for it is then that your fault-finders are so strong—might have suggested itself as a pretext for what is called a slashing article. We even went so far as to suppose that the new paper had quite a little store of such put up in tin boxes and ready for immediate use, after the lapse of over so many years, like preserved meats. Again we had imagined that the *Advertiser* would have to find the very straw with which to make the bricks to be employed in building up suppositions intended for destruction at its hands. The toy forts that are erected for gala nights at the Cromorne or Vauxhall Gardens, with their weak points prepared before hand, are now called to mind. The spectators, it is true, are defamed by the booming of cannon; mines are sprung; the trenches are opened; masked batteries uncovered, and all the pomp and circumstance of glorious war is represented to a T, but when the fortress has fallen, instead of "blood-stained ruins" a visitor next morning can only see cheap carpenter's work and petty canvass.

Of course we all read the latest *Advertiser*. An auditor is no doubt a very important office, and a rather expensive one. So far as experience here goes he was also found to be useless. But that may not have been his fault; perhaps the Legislature never resolved on a plan or furnished the means for making the office efficient. We remember it used to be the chief in the government house that the Minister of Foreign Relations made himself particularly troublesome by insisting upon his accounts being audited so long as there was any chance of getting them passed through that ordeal. Since then he has been obliged to content himself by publishing details so precise of the receipts and expenditures of the Department over which he presides that people smile when they read them. Some, indeed, falling into an error founded upon his exhibits, have fancied that ministers are sometimes called "red-tapeists" because they even make returns of what their office expends for roll-pate. We merely instance Mr. Wyllie as one of those who, according to the *Advertiser*, "preferred to be their own auditors." We should never have guessed it.

But we took up our pen to draw attention, and that very cursorily, to one particular sentence. It reads thus, the theme being, of course, an auditor:

"We are fully aware that such an office is offensive to those who for years have kept their own unsolicited accounts, and managed the funds appropriated for their use, to suit their whims." We do not admire the ingenuity of the assumption so much as the moral courage of the man who could put forth the assertion. So that the charge be a dashing one, what signifies it whether the result be made upon a Russian battery in the Crimea, or some wind-mills in Spain, or a truth universally understood in Honolulu! No harm to tell our readers, "You know better of course, and must therefore admire the gallantry that can dare every thing against all odds." For our part, we are old-fashioned enough to follow the straight line of fact, although by so doing we lose our chance of effecting any brilliant diversion or hero-like surprise.

The fact is that every cent expended by the executive government is expended according to the will and pleasure of the King, the Nobles and the Representatives. They dictate everything, even to the salary that a Minister shall pay his clerk. They determine the wages of his messengers and watchmen. It is true that in some cases they allow the Ministers to expend less than the amount appropriated, but never more. To hear our contemporary talk, you would fancy that so many thousand dollars were tossed over to the Executive with an injunction to spend it with a free hand.

A question arises whether it is not intended to charge the heads of the several Departments with having entered into complicity with their clerks to divert the moneys entrusted to them to extraneous purposes and make false entries to hide the abuse. As none of them can make an outlay of one dollar more than the Legislature sees fit to appropriate, and as the details of their expenditure are rigidly marked out for them, we do not see how they are to indulge their "whims" in dealing with the money, otherwise than by re-arranging its distribution, setting down fictitious disbursements and making false reports. If this be the meaning of the article before us, it assumes an importance which at first sight does not seem to belong to it. It is a long time now since there was any auditor to exercise even such partial functions as under the circumstances in which he was placed he managed to perform; in the mean while, during that indefinite number of "years" alluded to, many persons once high in the government employ have ceased to be so. Into what horrible compact are we to suppose these men then entered that they do not to this day divulge their damning tale of corruption in high places! Such a theme would find a greedy ear, and the King's evidence could always make good his own escape, however yellow his fingers might be. Nay, there are ex-Ministers amongst us—why do they hold their peace! Has this gagging of our contemporary brings to light extended to the root of every man's tongue who ever presided over or held an important position in the central offices of government! It is not often that a plot shared in by so many conspirators is left to be so long perdue. Will no one speak, will no one offer a pretext to re-arrange the government! Where sleeps Revenge! Where hides Remorse that makes cowards of us all! But indeed it is too inexcusable an act that the reputation of some of the most sterling men, in and out of the government, should be hinted at under the hebbomald necessity of concocting a "leader."

It ought to be remembered that the question of auditor or no-auditor has not been kept in the back-ground by the Ministry. For several years past, the Houses have dispensed with such an officer, not by any oversight, but by a special clause in the general Bill of Appropriations. They were in the habit of doing so long before the Cabinet was composed of the members who now hold the several portfolios. So when gentlemen at present numbered amongst the "outs" were counted in the circle of the "ins." Here follows the form of words used year after year:

"Section 6. Whereas the Bill of Appropriations for 1853 did not contain any appropriation for the payment of an Auditor of Finance and the office on that account has not been exercised; Therefore the duties of the Minister of Finance in his capacity of Auditor of Finance shall be performed by him until the said office is confirmed; and it shall be lawful for the Minister of Finance to pay all sums and salaries specified in this Bill without audit, all pre-existing laws notwithstanding."

We find some little difficulty in accounting for one fact. How in the name of wonder does it happen that the act of dispensing with an auditor which has passed the united wisdom of session after session as a matter of convenience or expediency, as a matter of economy perhaps, has all of a sudden become the test and proof of so much that is dishonest and condemnatory! If any sudden light had been thrown upon us we could have understood the possibility of many previous errors having been committed while men groped in the dark. But lo and behold you! there is no new lamp. We are indebted altogether to the old one that has been hanging over our heads all the time. It was hanging over our heads when the Editor of the *Advertiser*—then a government official—himself sat in the House of Representatives. Perish the thought that he was then suffering from the ophthalmia of office! And yet he voted for just such a section. Amongst the members there sat one man who had been chief clerk and then impached the chief he served on charges of less importance than this. Shall we set it down for a fact that the strained at a grin and swallowed a camel! There have been other ex-clerks and ex-office holders there, all voting for the same clause. Why did they not stand up and unblush themselves! How does it happen that it was left for an opposition paper to discover these abuses, and see what men sitting in cool judgment, with power in their hands, somehow or other failed to observe! There were parlied judges in the House. There were men keen in opposition who went round about to find something to take hold of, and contented themselves with heaving pebbles whilst cannon balls lay ready to their hands. Like the people of Sodom they seem to have been smitten with blindness, both great and small, and to have wearied themselves to find the door within which the angels of Truth and Honesty were sitting.

We do remember that on one or two occasions, the Legislature not being then in session, emergency occurred which not the Ministers, but the King in Council met as they were best able. One of these was the death of the late King. The voice of the people, from farthest point to farthest point, was raised on that solemn occasion; and though it assumed the expression of lamentation, rather than that of a concise vote that honor and respect should be the attendants of his obsequies, the command was not to be misunderstood. The King and Council provided for his funeral; but we hope that sacred act will not be attributed to the whim of a Minister. It was so, too, when the small-pox came to thin out the natives. The then King and Council met the difficulty, and used what means they could employ to stay the Angel's sword. Was that a whim! Certain it is that in both these equally provided for emergencies prompt action was necessary, and the Legislature afterwards approved what had been done. But in both cases the expenses were incurred by the reigning King and the members of his Council as individuals; the money was raised on their undertaking, good against them in their private capacity, had the Legislature seen fit to repudiate what they had done to honor a beloved King and save a decimated people.

Last night at about 1-2 past 12 o'clock a fire broke out in the back-house of Mr. Bond Macdonald of Hotel Street, which threatened at first to be the commencement of a very alarming conflagration. Owing to the efforts made by the Marshal, the Chief Engineer and the various fire companies, with their engines were soon under, and only some trifling damage in the immediate vicinity destroyed. The parties mentioned deserve very great credit, as indeed do many "outsiders."

THE FOLLOWING PAPER was drawn up in 1845 by Consul General Miller, in order to show and put on record, his views with regard to Sandwich Islands affairs, such as he on several occasions expressed to the Hawaiian Rulers. It is a fictitious speech, purporting to have been delivered by Dr. Judd at the first meeting of the Legislature or Parliament, in Waialea, in 1845.

I feel great satisfaction in seeing for the first time in Parliament assembled, the Nobles and Representatives of our Kingdom, and I am gratified at its having fallen to my lot to speak of, and explain to you, things which deeply concern us all. In doing so it is my intention not to say one word, or to call your attention to any matter, which you cannot easily understand. To use language, or to speak of things beyond your comprehension, would not only be very absurd, but it would confuse and hamper your thoughts, and cause my speech to be thought lightly of.

I purpose, in the first place, Nobles and Representatives, to refer to the former condition and local knowledge of other foreign residents. From each I have gleaned something serviceable, and I can safely assure you that every one of those persons thus consulted may, with great justice, be ranked amongst our most zealous and best friends. Having well weighed and digested the instructive information and good counsels with which I have been favored, as just set forth, I am now prepared, and with your permission will proceed, to recommend to your consideration various measures which it will be for you, Nobles and Representatives, to approve or disapprove, or to modify, after they have been discussed; for before coming to a conclusion respecting the several points I shall touch upon, I propose that we should meet again, indeed as often as may be deemed expedient, to further discuss the matter.

Shortly after Rear Admiral Thomas, anticipating the orders of his government, restored these islands to their native Sovereign Ruler, Kamehameha III., His Majesty, as you are aware, was pleased to nominate me his Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs since which time I have had, I may truly say, the whole weight and responsibility of the Government upon my shoulders, including the keys of the treasury, which I hold precisely to the establishment, and during the government, of the British Commission under Lord George Paulet.

But now that the Legislative Body have met, it appears to me that one of your first duties is to consider and propose to the King, what officers shall henceforth compose his Government; to define their separate duties, to fix their respective rank, titles and salaries; all which I trust will be done with the moderation that becomes our very small revenue, and population, and to establish an unostentatious and corresponding rather to the character and circumstances of our population, than to the example in such cases of rich and powerful nations. The formation of an administration appropriate to our position, all of us must admit, is an important measure, which calls for the exercise of our best judgment. Neither of the great powers that have acknowledged our independence wish to, or will, tolerate that any foreign nation, or individuals of one foreign nation, shall exercise a paramount influence over the Sandwich Islands; and of this fact, however embarrassing it may be, we should never lose sight.

With a view to enable the Nobles and Representatives to act, under those circumstances, with all possible prudence and wisdom, I suggest the policy and propriety of inviting to attend, if not to assist, at our early deliberations, the representatives of foreign nations accredited to the King or Government of these Islands; two Protestant missionaries; one Roman Catholic missionary; one individual selected from those foreigners who have lived on the Islands upwards of 30 years; and two gentlemen selected from the other foreign residents. The meeting for the special purpose indicated might be called a General Assembly, and the propositions, or acts, of this Assembly should be of course regularly laid before the King for his approval or disapproval.

An administration, under the King, thus formed, could scarcely fail to meet with proper support, for the community would naturally take a lively interest in the preservation, and respectability of what so many of its members had contributed in some degree to establish. This procedure, I also feel convinced, would be satisfactory to the respective governments of the foreigners settled amongst us.

I will here remark, that in other countries, foreigners form so insignificant a minority when compared to the native population, as to number, wealth, and intelligence, that they have no intervention, nor can expect to have any, in the affairs of government, but on these Islands circumstances are widely different. Foreigners here represent a majority in wealth and intelligence, they are the greatest contributors to the revenue, and therefore exact, and have a right to be treated with some consideration with regard to public matters. We cannot expect them to submit to an usurpation, de facto, of supreme power on the part of any one foreign individual; to the establishment of what might be termed imperial courts; to the revival of any thing like the *Black Laws* of Connecticut, or to a mock administration of justice by their friends, or granted to them for services performed to the King and Chiefs.

Let me then the King, as his principal executive officer and foreign adviser, and such I am commanded to say is his desire—and the King will not consent to forego the prerogative of appointing his own Ministers—the policy I should strenuously advocate, would be to introduce simplicity and justice into the Government, and seek the contentment and prosperity of the natives, and foreigners, who take up their permanent abode on these Islands, and above all to carefully abstain from any act which might get us into difficulties with foreign nations.

Having taken the King's view on the subject, I further beg to suggest that his Government, or Cabinet, be composed of the following officers: 1st, The Premier; 2nd, A Minister of Secretary General; 3rd, A Treasurer; and 4th, A Chief Justice.

The Government being duly formed, the Nobles and Representatives will of course, proceed with their Legislative duties. I recommend that their proceedings be reported both in the English and Hawaiian languages, so that the acts, and sentiments, on public affairs, of each Noble and Representative may be known to the community. It appears to me proper also, that the members of the Legislature should not be held responsible by their constituents, or any of the authorities, for the opinions they express, or for the measures they advocate when assembled in Council or Parliament.

Perhaps, Nobles and Representatives, I ought here to terminate my speech on the present occasion, and wait till the Administration is formed before I again address you, but judging from your countenances, that all I have had the honor to submit to your consideration has been well understood and received, I am disposed, if I can obtain your permission, to touch on other topics scarcely less important than those to which I have already adverted.

The Finance Department is an object of primary solicitude and importance to all well regulated Governments, and consequently more efficient checks are imposed upon those who have the direction and management of the public treasury; indeed, a most strict accountability is exacted from all who have to receive or disburse public money, without which it would hardly be possible to prevent malversation.

And now, Nobles and Representatives, the great and important question is, how are we to set about, and which is the best way of performing those duties to which I have alluded?

I will not be so bold as to say that I am capable of instructing you fully and properly in this matter, but, honored with the confidence of the King as I have been, I should be wanting in my duty towards him, towards you, towards the kind-hearted kanakas, and even towards the foreign residents, if I did not make known my sentiments, and humbly offer the best advice which it is in my power to give on this occasion.

I have, as you may naturally suppose, consulted the foreign agents, sent by their governments to reside amongst us, and to do us all the good, they can, because they necessarily possess more knowledge of the world, and more experience with regard to the formation and working of new governments, than it is possible for me, or any of my late missionary fellow laborers, to have acquired in our untroubled and peaceful walk in life. I have also availed myself of the advice of several of our local knowledge of other foreign residents. From each I have gleaned something serviceable, and I can safely assure you that every one of those persons thus consulted may, with great justice, be ranked amongst our most zealous and best friends.

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to be very satisfactory to the public, especially to foreign residents who, I maintain, have a right, as well as the natives and naturalized subjects, to know, at all events to a reasonable extent, how the affairs of this government are conducted. Nothing would be more certain to enlist their sympathies and ensure their zealous support in favor of a government, than a conviction that honesty and impartiality pervaded its respective branches.

We ought to carefully abstain from showing favoritism in public, especially pecuniary transactions, and bear in mind that few things would tend more to discredit the government than its officers mixing themselves up with commercial transactions, traffic, or anything like jobbing. Such a course, if permitted, would injure the honest trader, and weaken public confidence. Whatever is beneficial to commerce in general, is beneficial to the nation; but if two or three merchants, or other private individuals be allowed undue advantages, or influence, they will be almost certain to serve their own interests at the expense of the vital interests of the Country.

After much consultation and discussion with persons better versed in the matter than I am, I have at length been fully convinced, that one of the best things we can do for the prosperity and happiness of these Islands, is at once to abolish our Custom House. This proposition will probably startle you, as it did me when first suggested, but enquire and cool reflection will, I have no doubt, convince you of the expediency of the measure. At present our Custom House yields scarcely \$15,000 per annum to the treasury, after deducting the salaries of its employees, and circumstances as we have wisely been not to impose more than 5 per cent. ad valorem upon the introduction of foreign goods, the yearly net produce of our Custom House would scarcely ever exceed \$25,000.

By making all the Sandwich Islands ports, absolutely free ports, our revenue, I feel persuaded, would soon greatly increase thereby. Landed property, especially in and near our ports, would in that case be much augmented in value, and these Islands would become a commercial entrepot for the North West Coast, Oregon, California, and the Western Coast of Mexico. A moderate land tax, and a small tax upon the better class of houses, together with the rent for the warehouses which we can easily build on the large reef in front of the fort close to deep water, would produce a permanent and increasing revenue, and, if I am not much mistaken, would suffice to cover all the expenses of government. If not, other measures by no means onerous can easily be adopted to make up the deficiency, but I must say that to tax cattle, or any produce of the Islands, would be in my opinion, most unwise.

The licensed auctioneer at Honolulu, as you all know, is the Collector of our Customs; he is also an active wholesale and retail dealer, an importer and exporter of merchandise, a money lender, owner or part owner of several trading vessels, and so on. This anomaly and the inconvenience and vexation which arise therefrom have created much discontent in the community, and brought odium upon the government. An immediate remedy is therefore called for. We should not forget that auctioneers are the servants of the public who employ and pay them, and not of Government.

Another, and most important question to which I beg to draw your attention is, the settlement of lands, the setting up corresponding landmarks, and the granting of title deeds. For that purpose I suggest the expediency of forming a commission of three or four individuals of known probity. A great many of the native chiefs having died within the last 30 years without well known heirs, there must necessarily be numerous valuable tracts on each of the Islands without legitimate or positive owners.

Let all persons who possess lands, or have claims to land—natives as well as foreigners—send in their papers, if they have any, or such data as they possess, or let them appear personally, to make good their claims. After the necessary investigation and examination, title deeds of fee simple should, I am of opinion, be granted and registered, and proper boundary marks in all cases put up.

The Land Commission should invariably act with liberality, and on the principle that the more land owned, and occupied, the more advantageous it would be for the country. A covetous and selfish policy would have a contrary effect. All lands not possessed by virtue of title deeds at a given time—say a year—should, I propose, be declared as crown lands, or belonging to the state. The sale of a portion of these, from time to time, at Public Auction, would increase the value of the rest, cover the expenses of public works, and greatly add to the national wealth by opening an extensive field for agriculture, and the breeding of cattle; we should soon be able to export coffee and sugar as well as tobacco of the first quality, to a very considerable amount, and abundantly supply with provisions all ships that visit our ports. Our beautiful valleys, and rich plains would soon be dotted with plantations and farms.

We should take special care to inviolably respect, upon all occasions, the rights of foreigners to those lands of which they have been in quiet possession, even for years, whether they were purchased by them or their ancestors, or were granted to them by the King, or by their friends, or granted to them for services performed to the King and Chiefs. Let us deserve the good wishes and support of those foreigners, by acting justly and liberally towards them, rather than in our dissatisfaction by injustice and unnecessary annoyances. We ought not to forget that the possession of land is, in all countries, considered the best pledge of fidelity to the state.

Look, Gentlemen, at Little Greenwhich, and see what has been the speedy consequence of one act of justice performed by this Government a short time ago. The converting a few acres of land into a fee simple title for a few acres of land, in just compensation for cruelty and extortion exercised in 1834 towards a foreign resident, has induced him already to lay out thousands of dollars in improving the property now his own, and in erecting upon it buildings both useful and ornamental—and unless I am much mistaken, we shall ere long witness as a further result, a good carriage road which will throw open the very pretty, salubrious, and fertile little valley, hitherto almost inaccessible and unknown, in which Little Greenwhich is situated. This, I say, and wish deeply to impress upon you, is a proper and profitable way to encourage industry, and to increase the number of landed proprietors we shall diffuse happiness, legitimately strengthen our Government, and, at the same time, add greatly to the national wealth, as well as to the value of our own estates. I regret that, hitherto, my former reverend colleagues have not fully understood this truth; and hence the unwise and suicidal policy, introduced soon after their arrival in 1820, of preventing, as much as possible, foreigners from obtaining and possessing land.

Notwithstanding, however, this great and pernicious mistake of my reverend friends, which must be attributed to their lack of knowledge in the difficult art of governing, and I fear, also to sectarian prejudices, still, with respect to those otherwise praiseworthy individuals—the missionaries—I would once say to each of them: "You may count upon me for the maintenance of land, and ten acres more for each of your children, the day you cease to be supported by the missionary board, and at all times you will be allowed to do just what you like with your lands." It is our best policy to act openly and frankly, and we can certainly well afford to act liberally with our large uncultivated plains and table land. It would have a disagreeable, not to say a demoralizing effect upon the teachers of religion, to hold them in a state of painful uncertainty with regard to the future policy or generosity of the Sandwich Islands Government towards our missionaries, or to allow their hopes to fluctuate upon the smiles or frowns of any man in power. I am glad to say that the missionaries are already in possession of plots and tracts of land to a considerable extent, but their title deeds require adjustment.

I need not tell you that I am a friend to Temperance, or how sincerely and with what pride too, I congratulate you, Nobles and Representatives, for so admirably persevering as you have done for years, in observing the Temperance pledge. Your example has been nobly followed, and adhered to, by the whole native population, with few exceptions, and there is but little reason to fear that the natives will easily revert to their former habits of drunkenness. But unfortunately, several naturalized subjects, as well as foreigners who reside among us, and a much greater number of Americans who every year visit our Islands, are neither easy to control, nor so temperate, as the Sandwich Islanders. They will and do get run and brandy in spite of all our efforts to prevent it. Besides which, great as my zeal is in the cause of temperance, and no man as you well know, Nobles and Representatives, can more deeply sympathize with you than I do, yet I am bound to inform you, which I do with extreme regret, that experience made in other countries prove beyond a doubt that prohibitory laws or excessively high duties, upon ardent spirits, do not prevent their use, but create infinitely greater evils than they are intended to put a stop to.

My deliberate opinion, therefore, is, that any laws we might make prohibiting the introduction or sale of spirituous liquors, or imposing any unreasonable high duty upon them, would in the course of a short time, as you well know, be our national morality as similar law made in European Kingdoms have been found to be in those Kingdoms after repeated trials. Our ports must soon be infested by bands of smugglers, the watching, apprehending, bringing to trial, and punishment of whom, whether foreigners, naturalized subjects or natives—would keep the community in a state of general ferment, and not unfrequently involve the Government in serious difficulties. (to the other hand unscrupulous traders, and speculators, would not hesitate, we well know, to purchase spirituous liquors stored in bond at Honolulu, for the ostensible object of re-exporting them to Oregon, or other foreign ports, but in reality to distribute and sell them on these Islands. The demoralization which all this would create through our little community is incalculable. Beside, Nobles and Representatives, that it is not by fiscal laws, or excise officers, or by the blind zeal of our over zealous teetotalers, but by mild persuasion and kind exhortations such as have immortalized the Apostle Father Matthew, that the great evil is to be arrested.

I am therefore decidedly of opinion, that for the present we must rest our principal hopes for the decrease of intemperance, upon the excellent example in temperance, nobly set by the King and Chiefs, by most of the foreign residents, and above all upon the praiseworthy efforts of our Temperance Society.

Respecting the all-important subject of laws, I recommend that a code be carefully drawn up as early as practicable. They should be plain and simple, so that the natives will understand with ease every section likely to concern them or their affairs.

The laws respecting foreigners, commerce, and sea ports, it is well to be observed, will also be made with all possible care, and without any rigidity, and I propose that the foreign residents be induced to form a committee from among themselves, accordingly draw up a project for our consideration, the representatives of their respective countries, perhaps, would consent to assist and preside at their meetings. Above all we must enact no law that cannot, or will not, be rigidly enforced, for nothing would perhaps injure us more than the non-observance of our laws, or to make a law one day and be obliged to abrogate or modify it the next day.

Fortunately, existing treaties between us and foreign powers, provide that jurymen for the trial of any crime whatever shall be proposed by the Consul of the nation to which the accused party belongs, to be approved of, however, by this Government. But I regret that this arrangement does not embrace all civil, as it does all criminal cases. I maintain that a jury proposed by a responsible agent, subject to the approval of this Government, is the most competent and best tribunal that under present circumstances can be established at Honolulu, for the fair trial of any case whatever, while it has the additional advantage of relieving the Sandwich Islands authorities of much embarrassment and responsibility. We should not forget the great inconvenience, and not unfrequently suspicion, which arises when the jurors are drawn by lot. Although it would be an anomaly in Europe and the United States for U. S. to propose jurymen, it is by no means so at the Sandwich Islands, for reasons apparent to those who can impartially judge of our actual state of society. There is nothing in it derogatory to this Government, since we have the privilege to approve, and consequently to reject any jurymen proposed should there exist just cause for doing so.

As a Christian and a sincere friend to the native population, I implore you, Chiefs and Representatives, without loss of time, to do away with the barbarous punishment now inflicted, too often at the caprice of malignant or sordid informers, upon girls and young women, for a crime which in the present state of the native society, they cannot, even if they wished, avoid falling into, for if voluntary victims, they dare not resist the law of the constables, the tax-gatherers, the "Pahā" overseers, and other superiors. These young women are, as you know, sometimes put in irons; at others they are confined in dungeons or damp cells, but most usually made to labor for months, and even for years, upon public works, and are employed exclusively for food upon their friends. Does this cruel punishment diminish the crime it is intended to prevent! No, it does not, it increases it, and at the same time it is one of the great causes of the native population so fast verging towards extinction. It would not be proper, nor is it necessary, that I should relate the destructive means which these poor girls resort to in order to conceal their offense. Such details are too well known to you.

There is another, perhaps still greater, cause, which has increased so fast, and so fast, as it exists must increase, and is an insupportable burden upon the native population, and a great improvement among the native. I need hardly say that I allude to the "Pahā," that abominable compulsory unpaid labor system, which obliges kanakas to work 12 days every month, gratis, for their Chiefs and the Government, unless they commute it by paying a real per day, or avoid it by some degrading concession to their taskmasters.

That this degrading servitude should have been tolerated so long as it has been in a country governed by Chiefs of Evangelical Christians, and under the influence of Protestant Missionaries, is indeed a disgrace. Abolish it, I beseech you, Chiefs and Representatives, at all events, before you close this evening, producing a law, which shall have a legitimate civil shall, as well as its penalty, for ever exempt from the "Pahā." We declare, also, at the same time, I entreat you, that every kanaka who has two legitimate children shall at once be put in possession of a piece of land to be given in fee simple.

This edict alone would I am convinced give more satisfaction, create more industry, wealth, and happiness among the natives; tend more to promote marriages, and increase the aboriginal population than any other measure that could for the present be adopted. It would also bring forth a middle class of people, of good and loyal subjects, and though it would in the course of time, and under the present feudal system, which cannot exist in a well governed and prosperous country, it would enhance the value of all land, and thereby be extremely beneficial to the Chiefs of the Sandwich Islands as well as to other parties.

I maintain, Chiefs and Representatives, that the oppressed class of natives, if fairly treated, would not only become industrious, but their taste and exertions to obtain the comforts and conveniences of life, would gradually increase. Many kanakas already excel in handicraft work, while others, living in the course of time, and the employment of foreigners, are expert traders, or faithful servants, and it is exceedingly satisfactory to observe how well the native young women married to foreigners conduct themselves. And yet there are persons who still doubt the policy of encouraging these intermarriages! They do not see the demoralizing effect of that law which requires that a foreigner should abjure his own country to become a Hawaiian subject before he can wed a native girl.

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